1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinuet* (*kigelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, cleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motohet*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kiphorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyagda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kuriot* tree (*isvlea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inot*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keliot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiot*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *tapuraiot*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*amilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arana* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiloi*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *musambuanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *takeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kária*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inee*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootiet*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kátik*; sing. *káte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandee*). The arrow-head (*sivelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunóno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Máisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ité*) obtained from the *Ñgoisiandee*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Ara'chee*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikóitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mótian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 251.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngorwa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance. 411

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwane*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1] [278] [439]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey. 372 410 [577] 227

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate. 415 [583]

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence. [278]

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

THE *MÓSIRO* AND *ARAMANIK* LANGUAGES

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ŋg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{k}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ˆ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

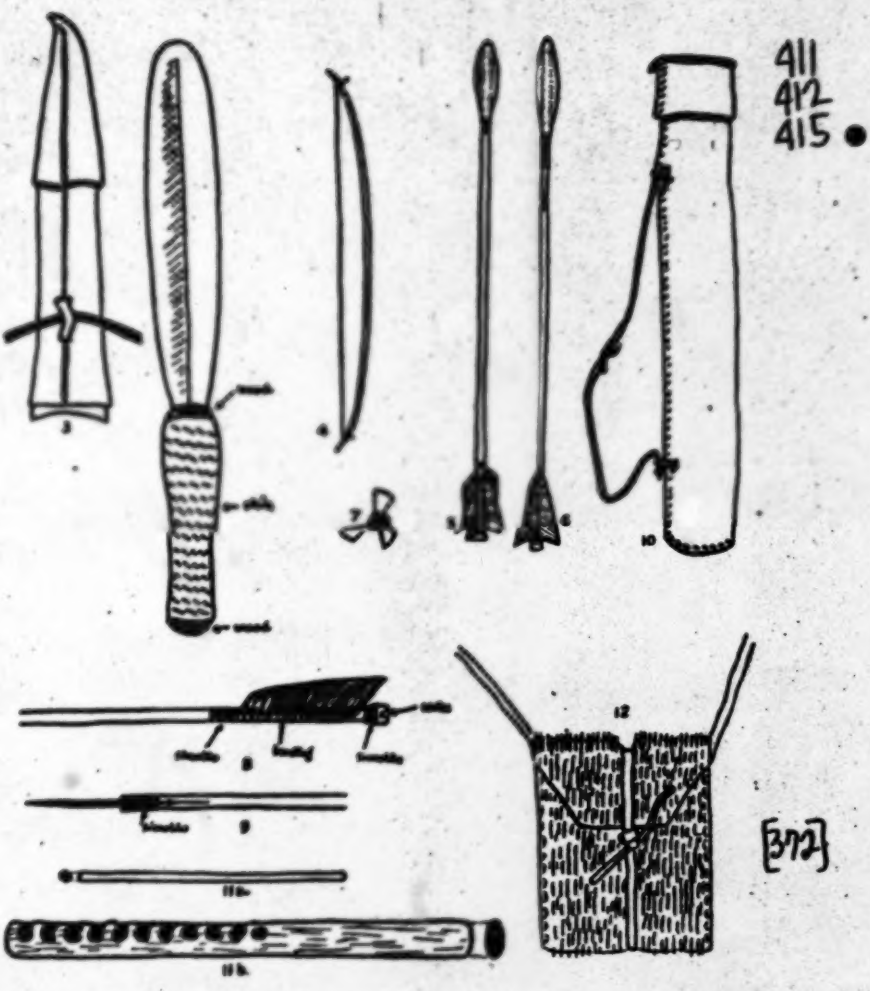
Houses.

342 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kochongot*, pl. *kochongwiek*; N. *kwiet*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the sleeping-place (*iitkia*, N.) and the [353] fire-place, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*maŕsaik*; N. *maisai*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurket*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the sleeping-place is the hearth (*mdt*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*sainet*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the width, and ending at the beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 2 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [251] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and eleusine grain (Text-figs. 26–28). The [317] only household utensils are a small broom (*sedtutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [412] a bush-buck's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water [415] jars" (*soiyot*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 8 ins. long; a grindstone (*litito*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding eleusine grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the [439] Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piinet*; 342 N. *piónet*) (Text-figs. 11*a*, 11*b*). A thin stick of the choruet tree (*N.*),[1] about 15 ins. long and ¼ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of cedar (*test*)[2] about 26 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called piinet, the cedar stick tasamet. The piinet is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the piinet and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, *Fig.* 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the piinet drills a hole in the tasamet, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of tinder (*saoyat* (dry grass) or fibre of the porówet[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus sp.* [2] *Juniperus procera.* [3] *Dombeya sp.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 F16 Dorobo F16

411
412
415



[372]

FIG. 2.—IRON KNIFE (*Chesukulwet*) AND LEATHER SHEATH. FIG. 4.—BOW (*kwpukpin*). FIGS. 5, 6.—ARROWS (*bûtick*). (5. N. *chepilukpint* type. 6. N. *kipchorpet* type.) FIG. 7.—BUTT END OF ARROW, SEEN IN CROSS-SECTION. FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM SHOWING ATTACHMENT OF FEATHERS TO ARROW. FIG. 9.—METHOD OF ATTACHING ARROWHEAD TO SHAFT. FIG. 10.—SKIN QUIVER (*mentiet*). FIG. 11.—FIRESTICKS: (a) *piiwet*, (b) *kamnut*. FIG. 12.—SKIN BAG (*metobet*). LENGTH, 9 INS.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

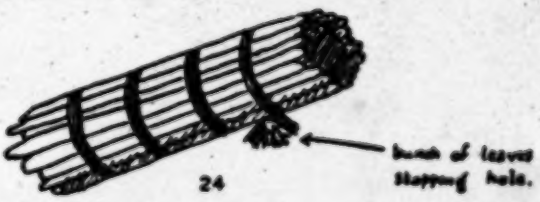
301

951

[301]

415

231



FIGS. 13–17.—MEN'S IRON EAR-RINGS: (13–16, *akimerisi*. 17, *kimsiloiti*). FIG. 18.—MARRIED WOMAN'S BRASS EAR-RING (*kut*). FIG. 19.—CHARM OF EUPHORBIA WOOD AGAINST REEUMATISM. FIG. 20.—*Lepayuwut* NECKLACE, WORN FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE EVIL EYE. FIG. 21.—BASKET (*kerepet*). FIG. 22.—BAMBOO TOBACCO-BOX WITH SKIN COVERINGS (*kipsuwit*). FIG. 23.—CARRYING NET (*kikuulet*). FIG. 24.—HONEY-BARREL (*pumwet*).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed on grindstones (*lotta*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and is called *kipketindi* (N.). Tobacco (*tomotet*, N.; or *chepkendeiti*,[1] N.) is bought from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either chewed (*soit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*torbuit-ap-tomotet*, or *kondiondi*, N.), which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical boxes called *kiprowoit* (N. *kiprowi*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *somiyot* (bamboo), with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During the last quarter of a century or so a few of these living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbowet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine grain (*silluiet*†, or *puiuk*; N. *pûi*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head. The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys (*akuriet*; N. *ingurisi*). Warriors wear skin garments of duiker (*ngomongo*,[3] N.) called akuriet; they wear leg-bells attached to a leather band (*ngotitiko*,[3] pl. *ngotitikoisiek*) on the ankles. Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*sogot*, N.) dyed brown.[4] Old men wear bush-buck skins (*akuriet*) with the fur left on. Capes (*engerusit*†) are worn, of blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors. Belts (*entorrit*†) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors. Necklaces of chains (*sirimdo*, N.) or iron-wire (*asingusit*, N.) are worn; also various kinds of iron ear-rings (*olaimeriat*† and *kimeitaiit* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimeiteitiot*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of Nandi women. They wear skirts (*chepkuiyuit*; N. *chepkuswi*) and upper garments (*kolilet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*maliwotuik* and *kurik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*asingusit*, pl. *asingusiek*, N.). Married women wear

[1] *Chepkeketit* means "snuff" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (921-9218)929 FLA Dicotyo FLA

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the hazel (K.) tree, and average 3 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (net, K.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (wambu, K.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[339] [338] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (kipsiliyat) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chaplelelgiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipsiongot (Text-fig. 6) (R.N. Figs. 30, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 8) and bound with fibre or skin binding (simotin). The shafts are made of the sawiyot (hazel-rod), emanin, and kwenanyiot trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. Three are three feathers (kwerik, K.), which are split and trimmed, and bound to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 6). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin strands; the notch (nuin) is shortened, and bound over the shoulder with a skin strands. The length of the feathers is 3 ins. to 3½ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (sumtiet K.; sabulgiet) of leather, and about 2 ft. 2½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, see R.N., pl. VIII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (shukut, K.) which are attached to leather belts (sepsiwet, K.) (Text-fig. 9).

(b) Leather.

381 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called sumtiet.
• 415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. dipsiket, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a
[419] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(c) Baskets (*kwopet*, pl. *kwopsuik* (K.)).

285 [420] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called tapetik; the cross straws, sosik (K. = *Phoenix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 11).

(d) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lokwalet (K.) is used (Text-fig. 13). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis rackets fastened

Cambridge E-S (1938-/039) 1911 PLA Durobe PLA

needle is, i.e. as the bone and gate this, a new end is shaved under the binding; the heat is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral combination with a fat, then gradually ascending and, of the single over-seen type, and two-step variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with heat. A hole is made with the needle, and the heat is pushed through it. Or frequent intervals the fibre and the heat are maintained with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of heat is needed it is shaved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of heat of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by shaving off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of heat. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, in which the heat will be sewn. The rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket.

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, satchels are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e.g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 19 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck.

The nature of Durobe life demands exchange of products with the Kundi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1938 some of these values were:

1 axe for 1 kaglol of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Planting is done in a season called [illegible], when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months; [illegible], a time of rain; and [illegible], a time of much rain. A form of

825 *The Calendar.*—The Wandorobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except [illegible] and [illegible], which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wandorobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyena; nor do they eat chickens (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wandorobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[272] far and wide in the trees.

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting
462 and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

577 *Recreations.*—The Wandorobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

Handicrafts.—The Wandorobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (hides) are similarly obtained, while their spears (iron) come from the [illegible] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They are [illegible] ([illegible]) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[279] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marakwet, Chilchinagwoni, Buru, Doukoie etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the game traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Miansi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Ikuyu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Aci and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

[P.192, 6]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and no all[illegible] ivorywork is imported from the Shanti. Whatever which they like, is not grown or yet, and this too must be obtained from the Shanti. There is a regular exchange of ivory, skins, and leaders, for wristbands, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 seven head is given for a pound of ivory.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of ivory.
1 large pot is given for a large leatherish skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
½ bundle/tub of seed for one basket.

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's working in the world's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Shanti, in a limited manner, by a system of gift exchange for ivory. The Shanti make friends with the Dendo chiefly for the purpose of getting ivory, and the Dendo will give some to the Shanti friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Shanti gives the Dendo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dendo offers his friend a fat cheek for an ox, or e.g. my friend Jump Mbidy acquired one from a Shanti called Kapitale or Chisese, to who got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought one of his wives for working on a farm.

C. Technique

1. Hunting

The dry weather, mwakwadi, is the hunting season, and the wet weather, mwa, is the time for cropping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (poisoned and used by the Kapolopolwadi Dendo), and the hunters are dogs.

In wet weather hunt are caught in traps. In the dry season, when pig [illegible] were

[illegible] shown [illegible] dog and [illegible] ox, while a [illegible] above [illegible] a pound. A [illegible] shown [illegible] dog and [illegible] ox, side [illegible]

[illegible] the warthog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus) and [illegible] the giant hog or bush pig (Hylochoerus meinertzhageni).

/301 cont./

as delong, i.e., lots of the unmarried men, in contrast to the side to father, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the camp, a separation into head of the married and head of the unmarried, similar to the one mentioned for the ideal.

The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the farm itself, resembles that of the ideal; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (natik, natjang), a gourd bottle (ngar) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (ehem, ehemin) for collecting honey, a larger one (ehem, ehemnig) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (thig, thin) and smaller ones (ngaha, ngahe) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (ng), a rope cut out of an animal skin (ehen, ehingn) to tie up the skin bags, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the basket (Ahamonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the bedclothes hung in trees (nerthgn), along with a few skinned skins (hide) that serve as beds, as well as an (ehe, hoonng) and knife (nanthgn), constitute the principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the ear sheers /pair-holders/ of the ideal, here called ishaha (ishoongh), as well as a hammer (ghthk) for forging and a chisel for designing the arrow points (mah, ihern), and finally that eloquent exact piece of steel iron serving as razor-knife (hank, hanngh). The entire family, namely, husband, wife or wives, and the unmarried children, live in one /301/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out. The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They eat one with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves just as they say. A man feels more eagerly and cautiously than a fox lures lion, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts (covered and crude) are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. Normally the Wandorobbo do not have definite mealtimes as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

Lh Marker--506 G-6 (1500-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Masai
Dorobo FLS
Asa

/339 cont./

262 If lean times does come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camps; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with mountain tribes, are able to come into
[339] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
only a side dish, especially for women and children. Many of them
[272] detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[271] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[311] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter price
[271] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
254 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[258] both the foods for the men, his wives, and children and, on the other
[265] hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kinkeng), of
273 which each adult drawing in the meal has his own. From the food
191 laws of the Masai, the custom that young uncircumcised men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little soapy
ash and /339/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

231 /310 cont./

Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as oi nuth. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 53) (from the oi lumpai tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

[237] [324] [412] The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] [136] [283] [324] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

* 415 [439] [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 [171] The fact that the Wandorobbo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 [273] [535] [533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto sing ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobbo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [439] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobbo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.

278 562 834 [784] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /347/ (amóta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverance, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can